

Message Text

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O 280111Z JUL 78
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2691
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, EG, IS, LE, SY, XF
SUBJECT: LEBANON AND THE MIDDLE EAST: SECRETARY VANCE'S
MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM

1. SECRETARY VANCE CALLED ON SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM
EARLY JULY 27 AND DISCUSSED LEBANON AND THE MIDDLE EAST
AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS. THE SECRETARY WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY
AMBASSADOR YOUNG, ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES AND POLMIN
(NOTETAKER). THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S DEPUTY EXECUTIVE
ASSISTANT, ROHAN, ALSO SAT IN.

2. SECRETARY VANCE SAID THAT, ON LEBANON, HE WAS VERY
HAPPY TO HEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON (GOL)
HAS FINALLY MADE A FIRM DECISION TO SEND FIVE-HUNDRED
TROOPS OF THE LEBANESE ARMY TO SOUTH LEBANON. IF THEY
ACTUALLY CARRY OUT THIS ACTION, AS WE BELIEVE THEY INTEND
TO, IT WILL BE A VERY POSITIVE STEP. FAILURE TO RE-INTRO-
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DUCE LEBANESE AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTH HAS BEEN ONE OF THE
CENTRAL CONCERNS RELATED TO ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AND
THE SUCCESS OF UNIFIL.

3. WALDHEIM AGREED THAT THIS WOULD BE A MOST POSITIVE
DEVELOPMENT. HE SAID PRESIDENT ASSAD, DURING HIS MEETING
WITH WALDHEIM RECENTLY, HAD FOR THE FIRST TIME MADE

CRITICAL REMARKS ABOUT SARKIS. ASSAD SAID HE HAD CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED SARKIS IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY, BUT SARKIS HAD NEVER BEEN WILLING TO TAKE A DECISION TO DISPOSE OF CHAMOUN AND GEMAYEL. ASSAD SAID SARKIS IS NOT CAPABLE OF TOUGH DECISIONS. WALDHEIM SAID FOREIGN MINISTER KHADDAM ALSO HAD SAID HE WANTS THE CHRISTIAN LEADERS IN PRISON. ASSAD TOLD WALDHEIM SYRIA HAS NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OR DESIRES IN LEBANON. THEY WANT TO PULL OUT OF LEBANON ASAP, WHICH WOULD BE AS SOON AS THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON ACHIEVES CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY. WALDHEIM SAID HE INFERRED FROM ASSAD'S REMARKS THAT ASSAD EXPECTS SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH SARKIS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

4. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD PRESSED DAYAN AT LEEDS ON THE LEBANON QUESTION. HE TOLD DAYAN THAT ISRAEL MUST MAKE CRYSTAL CLEAR TO THE CHRISTIANS THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT HELP THEM. DAYAN ASSURED THE SECRETARY THAT ISRAEL HAD DONE THIS, AND THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS IN LEBANON. THE SECRETARY SAID HE IS NOT AT ALL SURE THE CHRISTIANS HAVE FULLY ACCEPTED THIS.

5. WALDHEIM SAID IT PROBABLY IS TRUE BECAUSE OF THEIR INTEREST IN SOUTH LEBANON. HE OBSERVED THAT THE SOUTHERN ZONE HAS BEEN QUIET IN THE RECENT PERIOD, ALMOST MIRACULOUSLY SO. HE SAID ARAFAT WAS VERY COOPERATIVE WHEN THEY
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MET. ARAFAT WRYLY COMMENTED THAT HE HAS TO ASSIGN A FULL COMBAT BATTALION TO PROTECT TWO UN MILITARY OBSERVERS IN THE CHATEAU. ARAFAT EMPHASIZED HOW MANY DIFFICULTIES HE HAD OVERCOME TO MAINTAIN HIS COOPERATION WITH UNIFIL.

6. THE SECRETARY TOLD WALDHEIM THAT THE LEBANESE HAVE DECIDED TO RELIEVE HADDAD. WHEN THE SYG EXPRESSED SOME QUESTION WHETHER HADDAD WOULD ACCEPT THESE ORDERS, THE SECRETARY SAID WE THOUGHT HE WOULD, AND THAT IN FACT HE MAY INTEND TO COME TO THE US. CHIDIAC ALSO WILL BE RELIEVED, AND HE APPARENTLY INTENDS TO GO TO ISRAEL.

7. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, SECRETARY VANCE BRIEFLY RECAPPED THE PRESENT SITUATION FOLLOWING THE TALKS AT LEEDS. HE SAID ISRAEL IS READY FOR ANOTHER ROUND OF DIRECT TALKS. IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT THE NEXT TIME BOTH SIDES SHOULD HAVE COMPETENT MILITARY ADVISERS INVOLVED SO THAT THE TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM CAN BE MORE FREELY DISCUSSED. HE SAID THE EGYPTIAN ACTION JULY 26 SEEMED TO HIM TO BE PART OF SADAT'S POSTURING FOR THE BENEFIT OF EGYPT IN THE ARAB WORLD. HE SAID THE US WOULD NOW HAVE TO GO BACK TO HIM

AND ASK HIM IF HE IS PREPARED TO MEET AGAIN FOR DIRECT TALKS WITH ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY SAID HIS CURRENT PLANS ARE TO DEPART FOR THE MIDDLE EAST FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON AUGUST 4.

8. THE SYG COMMENTED THAT, IN HIS MEETINGS WITH SADAT IN EUROPE THIS SUMMER, HE WAS IMPRESSED BY SADAT'S STRONGLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD FURTHER DIRECT TALKS

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WITH THE ISRAELIS. HE SAID SADAT EXPECTED THAT THE US WOULD PRODUCE FURTHER PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD BE REJECTED BY THE ISRAELIS. SADAT WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE BILATERAL APPROACH AS LONG AS BEGIN IS IN POWER. SADAT PRAISED PERES AND WEIZMAN. SADAT ALSO SAID THAT HE WAS READY TO GO BACK TO GENEVA AT ANY TIME, BUT HE INSISTED THAT FURTHER TALKS MUST BE CAREFULLY PREPARED. SADAT SUPPORTS THE IDEA OF A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE, BUT THE SECRETARY GENERAL TOLD HIM AN EFFORT IN THAT DIRECTION WOULD NOT BE WISE WHILE THE CURRENT AMERICAN INITIATIVES ARE IN MOTION.

9. SECRETARY VANCE COMMENTED THAT, IN CONTRAST TO THE NEGATIVE IMPRESSION HE HAD GIVEN WALDHEIM, SADAT HAS BEEN PRESSING THE US TO GO AHEAD. THE SECRETARY SAID HE PERSONALLY THINKS SADAT IS CAPABLE OF TALKING TWO WAYS, THAT HE WANTS TO PROTECT BOTH OPTIONS. WE BELIEVE THERE HAS BEEN SOME MOVEMENT ON THE ISRAELI SIDE. IT ADMITTEDLY

IS NOT ENOUGH, BUT THEY SEEM TO BE LOOSENING UP SLIGHTLY.
THE SECRETARY GENERAL SUGGESTED, THEREFORE, THAT IT WOULD
NOT FOR THE MOMENT BE HELPFUL TO STRESS THE RETURN TO
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GENEVA. SECRETARY VANCE SAID HE THOUGHT THAT EMPHASIS
SHOULD BE LEFT UNTIL SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, AT LEAST, WHEN
WE WILL HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS WITH THE
BILATERAL APPROACH.

10. THE SECRETARY GENERAL SAID THAT WHEN HE CALLED ON
KING KHALID IN JIDDA RECENTLY, KHALID HAD SUPPORTED THE
GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THE IDEA OF A PREPARATORY MEETING.
KHALID'S VIEW, SURPRISINGLY, WAS THAT THE SOVIETS MUST
SOMEHOW BE BROUGHT BACK INTO THE ACTION TO KEEP THEM FROM
UNDERMINING THE EFFORTS OF OTHERS.

11. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT ALTHOUGH SADAT KEEPS SAYING
THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS, IN FACT THERE HAS BEEN A
GREAT DEAL OF PROGRESS WITH REGARD TO THE WEST BANK. THE
SECRETARY OUTLINED A NUMBER OF POINTS ON WHICH RECENT
EFFORTS HAVE WON NEW AGREEMENTS. HE CONCLUDED BY SAYING
THAT THE TWO SIDES ARE STILL APART ON THE FUNDAMENTAL
QUESTIONS OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK. NONETHELESS,
THE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM ON WHICH AGREEMENT HAS
BEEN WON HAVE LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR APPROACHING EVEN
THIS MOST FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION.

12. THE SECRETARY SAID SADAT THINKS HE CAN BRING DOWN
BEGIN BY HIS PRESENT TACTICS. SADAT IS WRONG; HE CANNOT
DO THAT. IN FACT, SADAT'S EFFORTS HAVE A CONTRARY EFFECT
IN ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY SAID HE DOUBTED THAT SADAT
WOULD AGAIN BE ABLE TO MEET WITH PERES AND WEIZMAN.
SADAT'S TACTICS SEEM TO BE BASED ON WISHFUL THINKING.

13. FINALLY, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT IF A FURTHER
BILATERAL MEETING IS ARRANGED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF
THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTERS, IT MIGHT TURN OUT TO BE
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CONVENIENT IF THE PARTIES WERE PERMITTED TO USE THE UN
FIELD MISSION IN THE SINAI AS THE MEETING SITE. THE
MISSION HAS AN ADEQUATE CONFERENCE ROOM AND THE PARTIES
COULD RETURN TO THEIR CAPITALS EACH EVENING. HE ASKED
THE SECRETARY GENERAL WHETHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR USE OF THE
MISSION MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM

SAID HE COULD SEE NO PROBLEM WITH THAT. YOUNG

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